Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII - No. 35 — 267 — NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1954 — PRICE: 10 CENTS

McCarthyism -- Main Issue of '54 Elections

Text of the National Election Platform Of the Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers Party platform for the 1954 elections differs from the platforms of all other parties campaigning for public office. Republicans and Democrats, whether of the conservative or liberal wings, claim that the main issue of the elections is "communism." They vie with each other in raising a hue and cry against "communists." We say they are raising a false issue. We say they are deliberately concealing the real issue.

The real issue is fascism and its American name is McCarthyism.

McCarthyism is the gravest threat the American people face. The Senator from Wisconsin is consciously and cunningly building a fascist mass movement to wipe out all democratic forms in this country, to demolish the labor movement and to impose one-party rule and one-man dictatorship on the United States.

We are not scare-mongering. We are telling the plain truth when we say that McCartrhy is far more powerful, far more dangerous than Hitler was at a comparable period in the latter's rise. McCarthy has already created a vast network of agents, obedient to his orders, inside all the important agencies of the federal government.

McCarthy's machine, it was revealed in the Army-McCarthy probe, extends into the State Department, the Treasury, the top military apparatus. It comprises powerful wings of both the Republican and Democratic parties. It wields immense influence in both the Senate and House, where a word from McCarthy suffices to put strong blocs instantaneously into motion.

Why It Is the Central Issue

All the most virulent haters of labor, the most bigoted opponents of progress and social reform are rallying around McCarthy. If they do not wear black or brown shirts — at least, not yet — their minds wear the familiar trappings of fascism — anti-unionism, race-hatred, anti-Semitism, violent opposition to civil liberties, a "communist" phobia.

So powerful is the pressure of McCarthyism, so fearful of its attack are all the other capitalist political tendencies, that even the self-professed liberals are swept along like leaves on the flood of McCarthyite reaction. The liberal Democrats themselves introduced and spearheaded the bill which for the first time in American history outlaws a political party, the Communist Party. They voted for the Butler bill which ties an anti-labor A-bomb to the block-buster of the Taft-Hartley Law.

We contend that McCarthyism, the American form of fascism, is the central issue not simply because McCarthy has demonstrated power, cunning, unscrupulousness, cruelty. These are qualities always to be feared in any reactionary politician. What provides McCarthyism with a dynamic character, with attractiveness for millions, is the social atmosphere in America.

America is on the verge of a vast social crisis. This country has gone through a quarter century of continuous and immense stresses and strains. First, we had a decade of depression and fierce class battles that saw the rise of the CIO industrial unions. Then, we had six years of war scares and war, with a million and a quarter U.S. casualties,

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IRON CURTAIN LOWERED ON W. GERMAN STRIKES

An iron-curtain censorship has been rung down on the greatest class struggle in capitalist Germany since before Hitler took power in January 1933. Allied occupation authorities, the Bonn government and the boss press are working in collusion to keep news of the gigantic West German strike wave from reaching the workers of Western Europe and the United States.

The Aug. 16 and 23 issues of the Militant by piecing together brief mentions of these strikes from a number of sources, revealed that some 4,000,000 German workers are either on the picket lines or have voted to end their contracts and go on strike by Aug. 31.

Strikes were already in progress, we reported, in almost all major cities, including Hamburg, Cologne, Munich, and Frankfurt, the scenes of militant picket lines and great mass struggles. Workers in coal mines, public transport forestry, textile, chemical, ceramics, construction, agriculture and postal services, on last reports, were demanding wage increases and new contracts.

Tighter censorship has since concealed the results of numerous strike votes. However, a single paragraph from an Associated Press dispatch, datelined Frankfurt, Aug. 23, which appeared in the N.Y. World-Telegram's international events column, disclosed that "West Germany's strike picture is still gloomy" although some 12,000 Schweinfurt ball bearing workers allegedly defied the union's strike decision in the two-week old Bavarian metal industries strike.

This same dispatch revealed that "some 700,000 public workers are reported to have rejected 8 to 1 a government wage offer of a 1.43-cent hourly pay boost."

We have no information on their further action.

An item in the Aug. 16 international news column of the World-Telegram had proclaimed that West Germany's "worst labor crisis appears headed for settlement, with spokesmen for more than 1,000,000 workers considering compromise." This report, intended to minimize the German workers' struggle, actually gives a clue to the vast numbers involved. There has been no further mention of the "compromise."

Instead, the next item gleaned from the World-Telegram, on Aug. 18, reports simply: "West Germany's wave of strikes rolled on." It told in a further sentence of a bitter picket line struggle, with "at least 20 hurt," at the "vast Siemens factory."

The only other glimpse we have had behind the West German iron curtain is an Associated Press dispatch of Aug. 18 reporting "Bavaria's worst labor riot since the war." 400 Munich cops, swinging rubber truncheons, charged a thousand pickets at the Siemens plant. This dispatch, as published in the Aug. 19 N.Y. Herald Tribune, makes reference to "the walkout, affecting 220,000 employes at 600 Bavarian plants, started Aug. 9."

Everyone will recall the shrieking headlines in June 1953 about the great strike wave against the harsh exactions of the Stalinist bureaucratic regime in East Germany. Now, however, news of the German workers fighting the harsh exactions of the capitalist rulers and foreign occupiers is met with a howling silence.

Anti-Union, Police-State Law Shows Need for Labor Party

Measure's Major Aim Is to Regiment Unions

By L. P. Wheeler

The anti-labor function of "anti-communism" has been nakedly exposed by the Communist Control Act of 1954. The very same bill that outlaws the Communist Party also gives the government the power to strip unions of their bargaining rights unless they knuckle under and act as police agencies of the witch hunters.

Labor is now confronted with a law which combines all the features of both the witch hunt and the union-busting drive. Under its provisions the Attorney General or the head of the Subversive Activities Control Board can pick out any union and declare it "communist-infiltrated." The union so designated will then be given the full treatment: no bargaining rights, and "legalized" raiding by unions that are still acceptable to the Big Business government.

Perhaps the administration can be trusted to give a "lenient" interpretation of the law? Terrible illusion! In the first place the law is so worded that any union not controlled by the McCarthyites can be easy game for the charge of "Communist infiltration." Even the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 19, expressed uneasiness at the law's sweeping definitions of a "Communist": "One of these provisions is that it would be evidence of cooperation with the Communist groups if any person has indicated a willingness to carry out the aims and purposes of the party. For all we know the Communist Party may be against juvenile delinquency. So is this newspaper."

The plain fact about the law was stated by the liberal Democrat Lehman in the Senate, Aug. 12: "This bill would place in the hands of an Attorney General who might be antagonistic to labor, a powerful weapon to cripple labor, to break strikes." The fact that Lehman voted for the measure to break strikes and cripple labor a few hours later doesn't change the intent of the bill one bit. It only shows us who Lehman and the other liberals are.

BUCKLE — —

The unions face the following alternative:

(1) They can go along with the law and accept its spirit. That would mean a new and more intensive witch hunt within the unions. Everyone who might be picked out as an "infiltrator" would have to be purged. Every union official who is disliked by the government would have to go. The unions would have to go on a "housecleaning" spree in the hope of depriving the government of any pretext for attacking and crippling the union.

Remember, while considering this alternative, that Harry Truman, who was a lot more careful about the way in which he attacked the labor movement than the present anti-labor crew in Washington, called the railroad workers "a bunch of Russians" during their strike. What's to

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Attempt to Throw SWP Candidate Off Chicago Ballot

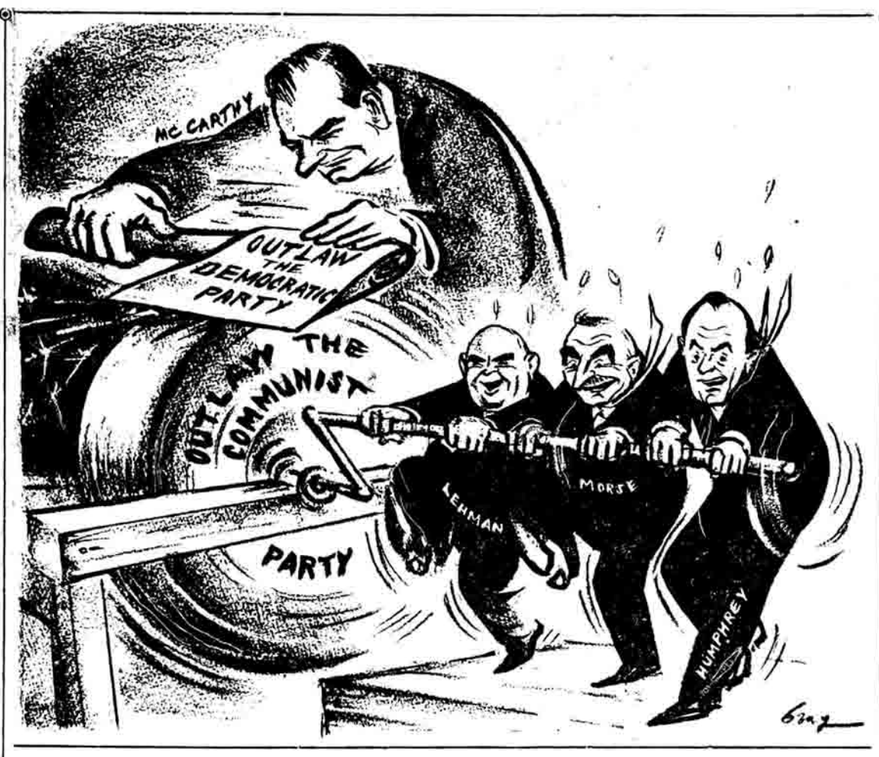
CHICAGO, Aug. 23 — Two people, obviously acting on behalf of the Democratic Party, today submitted challenges to the petitions filed to place Howard Mayhew on the ballot here as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 2nd District.

If the challenges are upheld by election authorities, the 12,000 voters who signed the Mayhew petitions and all other voters in the district would be deprived of the right to vote for him as a ballot candidate.

Along with some technical objections to the petitions was the accusation that "the so-called Socialist Workers Party is an organization or group associated directly or indirectly with Communist, Fascist, Nazi or other un-American principles" and seeks to "teach subservience to the political principles and ideals of foreign nations or the overthrow by violence" of the U.S. and Illinois governments. The authority cited for this false accusation was the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The Socialist Workers Party immediately announced that it would fight the challenges to the end. It will be represented in further hearings by an attorney from the American Civil Liberties Union.

In 1952 the Democrats also challenged the SWP candidate in this district and succeeded in getting him thrown off the ballot although he complied with all the ballot requirements. The SWP had to run a write-in campaign that year.



Adoption of Bill Gives McCarthy Green Light

By Murry Weiss

"I am delighted to hear this discussion of the Communist conspiracy. I do not think I have ever enjoyed a Senate debate as much as I have the one this afternoon."

In these words Sen. Welker, the McCarthyite from Idaho, expressed his satisfaction with the anti-labor Communist Control Act of 1954 introduced in the Senate by the liberals on Aug. 12. His satisfaction was justified, for the liberals had just handed McCarthy his biggest victory of the year.

Up to that point the liberals were contending that their tactics had "disgraced" McCarthy before a decisive section of American public opinion. They took credit for putting him through an "ordeal" in the Army hearings. They claimed they had put McCarthy "on the ropes" when they got the Senate to set up a new committee to recommend whether he should be censured.

Where are all these boasts and claims now? By their role in Congress during the last days of the session the liberals gave McCarthy a clean bill of health. They showed themselves to be cynical shysters. They mimicked the fascist Senator's program and method, and even tried to go him one better.

GIFT TO McCARTHY

All talk of the Senate taking serious action to curb, censure or destroy McCarthy now sounds like a poor joke. How can the Senate discipline him when it has put him in a position to say:

"I have been telling you all along that 'communism' must be crushed by any and all methods. Now you have unanimously vindicated me by passing a law against 'communism' that plainly violates the Constitution. You unanimously agreed that all methods are permissible. You even used all my arguments to justify this law. Why then am I criticized? Doesn't this show that my critics are dishonest?"

Thus the liberals themselves have given McCarthy new weapons to build his fascist movement.

McCarthy said last Nov. 24, in his nationwide radio-TV speech, that "Communism would be the issue in the 1954 elections." Eisenhower had expressed the "hope" that it wouldn't. The liberals said McCarthy was using "communism" as a phony issue in order to advance his political fortunes. Anti-McCarthy Republicans like Flanders and Democrats like Lehman made speeches attacking McCarthy's use of the "communist" issue as being closely akin to Hitler's use of the "communist" issue.

But in Congress last week the liberal Democrats changed their tune. They screamed McCarthy's line in both Senate and House. They introduced a bill to outlaw the Communist Party that McCarthy hadn't dared to introduce and challenged the Republicans to declare whether they were "for or against the Communist Party."

By this act they share full responsibility with McCarthy for setting up the 1954 elections on the McCarthyite pattern — with both capitalist parties trying to outshriek one another on the "red menace."

WHO GETS OUTFLANKED

If we study the history of the last four or five years we will observe that the McCarthyite fascists make their biggest gains precisely after a new peak has been reached in the "official" witch hunt.

A good example is Attorney

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AFL, CIO At Political Dead End

Every man, woman and child in the United States is affected by the passage of the so-called Communist Control Act of 1954.

For the first time in American history the government has arrogated to itself the right to destroy trade unions by branding them "communist infiltrated." ALL unions are subject to extermination under this law.

For the first time in American history a political party has been deprived of all legal rights and immunities—that is, outlawed. The Communist Party is only the first in line. With that precedent established, ANY party, existing now or in the future, can likewise be banned.

For the first time in American history citizens can be given severe prison sentences and fines for failing to register themselves as members of a party that has been declared outside the law.

This law enacts government licensing of unions, prohibition of free political association, and thought control. It was passed 79-0 in the Senate and 265-2 in the House, and signed by President Eisenhower.

POLITICAL RESULTS

The political consequences of this law will be deep, widely felt and far-reaching:

(1) Its virtually unanimous adoption by Congress, acting in flagrant disregard of the Constitution, gives McCarthyite fascism the greatest triumph, shot in the arm and "justification" it has received in a long time.

(2) Its sponsorship by the Democratic liberals, who ran amuck and led the whole lynch-freedom pack in Washington, signals the ignominious collapse of liberalism.

(3) It explodes the political policy of the labor leaders, who relied on the Democratic liberals to save them from McCarthyism and anti-labor legislation.

(4) It deals a stunning double blow to the Communist Party, who also urged the workers to join in class collaboration with the liberal Democrats as the answer to McCarthyism.

The most important result of the new law is the effect it will have on the labor movement, for labor alone has the power to lead the rest of the anti-capitalist forces in crushing the McCarthyite and police-state dangers.

LABOR MUST CHOOSE

It must be openly recognized: The unions are now at a political dead end. The Democratic Party, to which they looked for salvation, is composed of a conservative wing that has been appeasing McCarthy and a liberal wing that is now trying to out-McCarthy McCarthy.

The labor movement must make a choice. It can continue to support the Democrats. In that case it can expect only more anti-labor laws, more witch hunts, more defeats—all laying the unions wide open for all-out attack by the McCarthyite fascists.

Or it can decide to fight, break with all Big Business parties and set out on a new political road.

We say fight!

Call a Congress of Labor. Bring together delegates from every union local in the country —AFL, CIO and independent. Invite the representatives of the working farmers, the Negro people and other minorities. And launch an independent Labor Party.

That is the program of the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the 1954 election campaign. That is the program that merits the support of every anti-McCarthyite.

Senate Liberalism and Super-Strategy

Reporter: Well, Senator, now that Congress has adjourned, would you mind answering some questions about the Communist Control Act which you and the other liberal Senators took the lead in getting passed?

Senator: Not at all. There's nothing that I would rather discuss. As I said on the floor, I am tired of being called a leftist, and —

Reporter: The thing began on Aug. 12 when the Butler or Brownell bill to destroy communist-infiltrated organizations, especially labor unions, was brought to the floor. You were against that bill, weren't you?

Senator: I certainly was, and so were all the other liberals, and we voted in favor of tabling it. We definitely considered the Butler Bill to be dangerous, reactionary and anti-labor, just as the union leaders did.

Reporter: Yes, and after the motion to table the Butler bill was defeated, you and your friends introduced the measure to outlaw the Communist Party as a SUBSTITUTE for the Butler Bill. Besides wanting to show that you are not leftists, you wanted to get rid of the Butler bill, didn't you

Senator: That's very, very true.

Reporter: But then your fellow Democrat, Senator Daniels of Texas, made an amendment to COMBINE your outlaw bill and the Butler bill, didn't he? And you liberals voted to combine them, didn't you?

Senator: Yes, we did.

Reporter: Now the question that puzzles me is this: If the Butler bill was so bad, why did you vote to combine your bill with that one? Why didn't you vote against the Daniels amendment and insist that your bill should be a substitute and not an addition to the Butler bill? Why did you vote for the Daniels' amendment which meant in effect accepting the Butler bill?

Senator: Well . . . Well, you see it's like this . . . No, what I mean to say is . . . The truth is that in politics, practical politics, well, you just can't have everything perfect and you've got to take the bad along with the good. The plain fact is that if we liberals had voted against the Daniels amendment, we would have offended a number of the conservative Democrats and might have lost out on the passage of our own part of the bill outlawing the Communist Party. We didn't like the Butler bill, but didn't want to take a chance on having our own outlaw measure defeated.

Reporter: I see. You felt that the passage of your outlaw measure was so vital that no price, including passage of an anti-labor bill, was too high to pay?

Senator: Now wait a minute, that's a nasty way of putting it. I'm sick of being called a leftist, but I don't want to be called a rightist either. Some of these wiseacre newspapers that are now calling us 'liberals' in quotes seem to forget that it's one thing to write or talk liberal and another thing when you're in office and have the responsibility that goes with being in office and getting re-elected.

Reporter: I'm not disputing that you're a genuine and representative liberal, Senator.

Senator: All right then. Seeing that that's understood, I'll tell you what I'll do—I'll explain the whole thing to you, including our strategy. But it will have to be off the record.

You see, we DID want to stop the anti-labor Butler bill and at the same time we wanted to take the wind out of McCarthy on this 20 years of treason stuff. So we worked out the toughest anti-communist measure we could think of—making mere membership a felony—and stuck it on to the Butler bill, figuring that the Republicans would have to accept our amendment or open themselves to charges of softness on communism. We knew Eisenhower wouldn't go for our extreme proposal and figured he'd either get his people in Congress to kill the bill as a whole, or he'd have to veto it. In that way we would achieve both our objectives—killing the Butler bill and proving we are not leftists. This is all off the record, you remember, but tell me honestly, have you ever run across anything shrewder than this?

Reporter: I think I get your point. You didn't really want the bill to pass and reasoned that it couldn't become a law as long as it contained the probably unconstitutional Humphrey provision requiring the mass arrest of all Communist Party members. Is that it?

Senator: That's it exactly.

Reporter: But Senator, if that was your strategy, what happened to it? On Aug. 19, a so-called compromise proposal was made to remove the Humphrey provision to jail all Communist Party members. And Humphrey accepted it. And so did every other member of the Senate. And you all voted for the bill WITHOUT the section which you say would have forced Eisenhower to veto it. Doesn't that sort of contradict your whole explanation about a liberal super-strategy? Because if what you say is true, you'd never have voted for the bill after the removal of the parts that were supposed to force Eisenhower to veto it. How do you ex - -

Senator: Say, what paper are you from anyhow?

They Said No, But Voted Yes

From the Congressional Record

(Scene: The House of Representatives, Aug. 16, 1954, during the debate on the first version of the Butler-Humphrey bill to destroy independent unions and outlaw the Communist Party.)

Mr. CELLER (D-N.Y.). I am not a bleeding heart. I have no use for commies or for their party. I am a hardheaded, two-fisted lawyer, and a liberal member of this House, of course, but I believe when you seek to outlaw the Communist Party, to use the language of the President, you are "shooting from the hip." . . . If we can outlaw the Communist Party, there is no reason why, if the Republicans are in control, they could not outlaw the Democratic Party. And, vice versa, if the Democrats were in control, they could outlaw the Republican Party. I don't like that part of the bill which outlaws the party. It is palpably unconstitutional. Also, the states, not the federal government, control conditions affecting political parties. Much as I dislike some portions of the bill, however, I favor other portions. On balance, the evil is outweighed by the good. I shall vote for the bill.

Mr. HALLECK (R-Ind.). Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield.

Mr. HALLECK. I think the gentleman should certainly understand that the very language contained in the bill indicates that the Communist Party is not a political party. It is an international conspiracy to destroy your party and mine.

Mr. CELLER. Yes, but you hold the trump cards—you who are in power. You can declare the party to be anything you wish. You can do that by a mere declaration—by fiat. You could do the same with the Democratic Party. You could say that any party that opposes high tariffs or believes in deficit spending is subversive. You could order that the factors making up the Democratic Party are factors of destruction. You could say, therefore, by the same token, the Democratic Party should be taboo.

(Mr. CELLER voted in favor of the bill.)

* * *

(Scene: The U.S. Senate, Aug. 17, 1954, during the second debate on the Humphrey amendment to make membership in the Communist Party a criminal offense.)

Mr. KEFAUVER (D-Tenn.). Many of us are concerned about the precedent of outlawing a particular group. Perhaps next year Congress will not like some other group. Perhaps ten years from now Congress may not like another group. In the history of this nation, is this a new approach to the problem? . . . Does the Senator from Maryland know of any group which previously has been declared illegal, by act of Congress?

Mr. BUTLER (R-Md.). No, I do not.

(Mr. KEFAUVER cast his vote against the Humphrey amendment, but because the vote was very close and his vote might have defeated the amendment he changed it and abstained, letting it pass by 41 to 39. When the Humphrey amendment had been added to the bill, Mr. KEFAUVER cast the only vote against the bill as a whole, which was passed by 81 to 1. Two days later, in the final debate on the final version of the bill:)

Mr. KEFAUVER. It was not very pleasant to be the only member of the Senate who voted against the House bill with the Senate amendments when it was passed on the day before yesterday. However, I had a very deep conviction, as I have today, about this subject. I feel that history and time will vindicate the position I have taken . . . I must say that I have many misgivings regarding the language of the conference report, and as to whether we are doing something which violates the sound philosophy which has been given us by Thomas Jefferson and by all our great leaders with reference to the right of dissent, the right to have differences of opinion, the right to have any belief which anyone wishes to have . . . The Senator from Maryland assures me that persons are not going to be subject to prosecution, under this bill, for their beliefs. I am not certain about it. It may be that the Senator from Maryland is incorrect . . . (But) I think the conference report (modifying the Humphrey amendment) is a great improvement . . . I expect to vote for the report.

(This time Mr. KEFAUVER voted for the bill, which was pased unanimously, 79 to 0.)

Even Their Best Friends Score Liberals as Cowards, Wretches

By John F. Petrone

Some liberal publications felt at a loss for words to describe the liberal Democratic role in passing the Butler-Humphrey-Dies Communist Control Act of 1954. "How is one to characterize" it? asked the Nation (Aug. 21), and it answered, "Only Jonathan Swift could do justice to this extraordinary situation." But it wasn't words the liberal press lacked so much as correct political ideas, or the courage to express them.

Indignation was freely expressed, sometimes quite strongly. So were feelings of "surprise," "astonishment" and "shock." Some attempted to put a large share of the blame on the weather: "midsummer madness" (New Republic, Aug. 23), "summer frenzy" (N.Y. Post, Aug. 20), "midsummer madness," (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Post, Aug. 22). The Post even managed to lend an air of sleepwalking unconsciousness to the proceedings on Aug. 15 when it said "the Democratic liberal contingent . . . found itself leading the drive for the outlawry statute."

Murray Kempton of the Post warned that the "apologists" for the liberals would soon be sounding off. He could have had in mind writers like T.R.B. of the New Republic who wrote, "No one who had a direct part in this devious game has anything to be proud of, but the point is that the trick was made possible by adjournment pressure and by (GOP Majority leader) Knowland's genius for angering his colleagues." **Humphrey and Co. needn't be proud, you see, but the main fault is Knowland's for having "inflamed, infuriated and exhausted" the "atmosphere" by his "arrogance."**

HUMPHREY

Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) said on Aug. 12, after introducing his bill to arrest people for mere membership in the Communist Party that "if there is anything illegal" about it, his amendment "would make that illegality legal, if I may use that kind of terminology."

THE ADA LINE

Schlesinger, a co-national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, grieved over the "hasty and reckless action" and "foolishness" displayed by his friends in Congress. (Humphrey is also an ADA officer.) He said they "succeeded triumphantly in placing their party to the right of Joe McCarthy" when they tried to commit the Department of Justice "to a program of mass round-ups and prosecutions unprecedented in American history." The bill finally passed, though not as sweeping as Humphrey and Morse demanded, "is quite strong enough for a Herbert Brownell to use with effect on some of their friends," including maybe even Truman.

Their action will "plague" them, Schlesinger predicted, because this liberal "collection of hotheads running wild like kids after their first glass of beer at a picnic" has destroyed "one of the best Democratic campaign issues in the fall"—namely, their claim to be a party of "responsible opposition." (Meaning, you fools are losing us votes.)

Turning to the substance of the bill, Schlesinger said, "I don't see that any great civil liberties issue would be involved in outlawing the Communist Party if the threat were great enough." He thinks "a plausible case could have been made" for outlawing it in 1946 when it was "strong and active," but today the CP is weak. (Meaning, civil liberties are violated when you ban a weak party but not when you ban a strong one!)

The ADA asked Eisenhower to veto the bill, without itself taking "a position on the question of outlawing the Communist Party" but on the ground that it constitutes "possible danger to individuals and organizations in no way involved in the Communist Party." (Formerly, before McCarthy set the political tone, the ADA, Schlesinger and Humphrey were all opposed to outlawing the CP.)

"COWARDS, WRETCHES . . ."

In a series of editorials beginning Aug. 15, the Post spoke some harsh truths about its liberal friends in Congress:

"Cowardice . . . panic . . . this desperate maneuver . . . Many of the men who voted for this legislative monstrosity know how bad it is. They lacked the courage to say that they were against it. This is McCarthy's real victory . . . it reflects the same demagogy, lack of principle — and lack of thought — which the Democrats have been attributing to their opponents for a long time . . . Where are the men who will speak out for the Bill of Rights? . . . These frightened souls are the real casualties of the McCarthy age . . . What can undermine a free society is the corruption of spirit and loss of nerve exhibited in these wretched Congressional scenes . . .

"The bill that has been enacted is a wretched repudiation of democratic principles . . . we think it is questionable whether Humphrey himself can avoid registration as a subversive. He is, after all, a vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, which favors more public housing, more public health and more public power—all 'objectives' allegedly sought by the Communists and therefore within the scope of Section 12 of the Act . . . In the end it was impossible to tell the players without a scorecard; Senate liberals, headed by Humphrey, were leading the demagogic pack, trying to prove they had less respect for civil liberties than McCarthy himself . . . "

WHAT REALLY HURT

But the thing that really hurt the Post editor the most was this: "Such nonsense won't disarm their enemies but it may persuade their friends to go fishing on election day."

To Kempton of the Post (Aug. 18), Humphrey and Co. are "cowards." "For the skin they're out to save is not our country's but their own." Barring McCarthy, "the recent record of the Democratic Party on civil liberties is at least as bad as that of the Republicans . . . I for one would not argue today that the Republic would be destroyed if they were all retired to private life tomorrow."

The crucial word in that last sentence is "today." Today the liberal writers, suffering from shock and frustration, speak brave words about not caring if the Humphreys are retired from public office. Today the Post half-threatens the Humphreys that if they don't mend their ways "friends" may "go fishing on election day." Today the Nation, whose record on civil liberties is superior to most liberal publications, put quotes around "liberals" when it talks of the Humphreys whom it helped to elect as liberals without quotes.

WHAT WILL THEY DO?

But what about tomorrow? Will they be as indignant in November as they are in August? Or will they cool down and start explaining to their readers that after all the Humphreys, despite their "errors," are a "lesser evil" whom it would be impractical not to support?

Humphrey knows the answer. He knows that all the liberal writers will swallow their bitter words and support him unconditionally in November because the only alternative is to build an independent Labor Party. And the liberals (like the labor leaders) are as much afraid of taking such a step as the Democrats are of voting against "anti-communist" legislation.

A 'Legal Basis' for Proscription

Sen. George A. Smathers (D-Fla.), defending the Humphrey amendment to outlaw the Communist Party, said on Aug. 12:

"Today we condemn persons with Communist leanings or beliefs. We have been throwing them out of the teaching profession. We even make it difficult for Communists to work in ordinary industry. We are surely driving them out of all social, professional, and industrial life, and yet while we so proscribe these people there is no hard and fast law that says it is wrong or illegal to be a Communist or that a Communist cannot work in these fields of endeavor. So today without benefit of law, we pick at them, hold them up to bad publicity and ridicule, punish and persecute them, and finally we throw them out; but not by benefit of law. Mr. President, to conduct ourselves this way — without benefit of law — is to practice the grossest type of discrimination. We are discriminating against them for their thoughts and acts, when under present law, what they think and do is completely legal. If we are going to be a government of law, why do we not meet the problem head on and say, 'We do not like communism; we fear it; it is opposite to what we believe in; therefore, anybody who believes in it, advocates it, or who belongs to a political party which itself advocates or believes in communism, is guilty of a crime against the United States'? If we take this step then we will have a legal basis on which we can proscribe them in our society. The way to face this issue, Mr. President, is to meet the problem head on."

...M'Carthy Gets The Green Light

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General Brownell's smear of ex-president Truman last autumn. A tight election was pending in California. At the same time McCarthy was riding high and crowding the Republican Party tops with his independent witch hunting moves. Brownell and the GOP high command thought they could kill two birds with one stone; outflank McCarthy by using his technique, and at the same time win an election by smearing the head of the Democratic Party as a protector of "red spies."

McCarthy chose that very moment to announce that even the Republican administration was tainted with softness towards the "red menace." He served notice that Eisenhower was on trial and would be watched.

The Brownell maneuver didn't push McCarthy into a corner. It put him right out in front of the whole witch hunting pack. It justified everything he had been saying and doing and exploded all the "curbing" arguments of the Republican Party leaders against him.

Now the liberal Democrats are taking another turn at this same game. It was the Democrats who started the witch hunt under Truman's administration. They thereby laid the ground for McCarthyism. Now that they are harassed and menaced by the Frankenstein monster they created they vacillate between two courses: They set up a hue and cry about the danger of McCarthyism and then take up the McCarthyite slogans and try to out-McCarthy McCarthy.

The Democrats can't answer McCarthy's "20 years of treason" frameup charge. They can't tell the simple truth about the foreign policy of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. They can't say: It was expedient to deal with the Kremlin at that time from the standpoint of the interests of American capitalism. In the frenzied cold war atmosphere, where the "menace of Communist aggression" must always be put to the fore, such plain statements would be prima facie evidence of treason.

So the Democrats think they can solve the problem by turning the tables on McCarthy. They propose legislation more reactionary and unconstitutional than McCarthy. That will show him!

They are incapable of learning that this is precisely what McCarthy thrives on. Every time the liberals try to outflank McCarthy they end up by being outflanked by him. The reason for this merry-go-round is not that the liberals are utterly stupid, but that they are trapped.

They are trapped by their function as a political party of capitalism. When the capitalist system reaches the point of crisis which provokes the rise of a fascist movement, the liberals are incapable of striking at the fundamental roots of fascism—the capitalist system itself. Therefore they feed the growth of fascism by their vacillations and capitulations.

And that's why the working class, which is the real target of the fascists, cannot depend on the liberals. The workers must depend on their independent political struggle to defeat fascism. This elementary lesson has been underlined in graphic form by the 83d Congress: This session was heralded by the Democrats as the Great Battle of Liberalism vs. McCarthyism. It ended with the ignominious collapse of liberalism.

...Aimed at Unions

(Continued from page 1)

prevent the Republican administration from discovering "communist infiltration" during any strike a union may conduct from now on? How would they prove it? Simple. The strike itself would prove it. The strike would prove that the union is following policies favorable to the Communist Party which has been known to support strikes. And besides, there is always the "sabotage of national defense."

—OR FIGHT

(2) The other alternative is to fight.

The front line of the fight is the defense of the very first unions that are attacked under the new law. To sit back and hope that by accepting attacks on "marked unions" the rest will be saved is to continue the same self-defeating policy that led to the passage of the law.

Scripps-Howard staff writer Charles Lucey reports, Aug. 23: "The Justice Department ordered full speed ahead today as it laid plans for earliest possible use of new anti-communist weapons handed it by Congress. . . Action to throttle the power of such ('Communist infiltrated') unions may be the first direct step."

Labor's own "first direct step" must be to rally behind the unions attacked with the united strength of the whole labor movement. We must return to the principle, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

This means to stop immediately all witch hunting within the labor movement; to defend every worker attacked by the McCarthyites; to refuse to cooperate with the congressional inquisition committees; and to declare war on the anti-labor forces and their political representatives.

Above all the alternative of fighting instead of buckling means the revamping of labor's political policy from top to bottom. Let's start at the top. What happened to Reuther and Meany while Congress was passing all this anti-labor legislation? They were silent. Why? They had made an agreement with the liberal Democrats. The liberals had promised to fight against this legislation.

Instead, to the delight of the McCarthyites, the liberals picked up the anti-labor ball and began running with it to the police state goal post. They dropped the fight against the Butler bill at the critical moment and turned up on the other side. They sold labor down the river.

In other words the policy of the top labor leaders rested on the illusion that the liberals would carry out their commitment to defend labor and civil liberties. This is exactly where the policy is false and treacherous.

How did the liberal Democrats dare to welch on their promises? Aren't they afraid of losing labor's vote?

The answer is painful but true. The Democrats believe that labor's vote will be delivered to them no matter what they do. They face the elections with the idea that they must appease the McCarthyites. But how about labor? Don't worry about that, they tell each other. Walter and George always deliver. Good old Walter and George, you can walk all over the unions but they know we have our hearts in the right place and they'll deliver the labor vote to us.

And why shouldn't the liberals think they can kick labor in the teeth and get away with it? The labor officials have become so spineless that they can't even get a meeting with Eisenhower to discuss the unemployment emergency. When Reuther asked to meet with Eisenhower he was given the brushoff. And that was the end of it. What kind of power can labor hope to wield with leaders like that?

We say that labor's political policy is in a crisis. What will labor do in the 1954 elections? How can the union officers tell the workers to vote for Humphrey and the rest? Will they say, the liberals sold you down the river once, twice, three times, but vote for them just the same, their hearts are in the right place? Can the union officials even claim that the liberals have been fighting McCarthy after they embraced McCarthyism with both hands by voting for the new law?

Isn't it time, at long last, for a reconsideration of labor's political policy? Isn't it time that the rank and file delegates were called together to deliberate on what policy to follow in fighting the anti-labor offensive? We say that such a gathering is overdue.

Labor faces the threat of strangulation from a police state government, annihilation from the McCarthyite fascists and debilitation from unemployment. The answer to these threats is to fight back. Summon a giant Congress of Labor and put as point number one on the agenda: Organize an independent Labor Party RIGHT NOW.

For only $1.25 you can get a one-year subscription to the Marxist quarterly, Fourth International, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

...McCarthyism -- Main Election Issue

(Continued from page 1)

speedup, long hours, shortages, the disruption of normal family life. Then, in 1946, we had the greatest strike wave in our history, with capital and labor arrayed against each other on a 3,000-mile front. In 1949 and 1950, we felt again the tremors of depression. The economy was jerked back violently from the plunge by the Korean "police action," the most unpopular war in our history. And now we face the whole vicious cycle of depression and war once again.

When the last shot was fired in Korea, the first shot was aimed at the American workers' standard of living. Within six months, several million workers, a large number of them in basic industries, were laid off. Today, the steel industry works at but two-thirds capacity, a depression rate. Detroit and the other auto towns are beginning to look like the days of the Thirties. Ghost towns are appearing throughout the coal mining areas of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky. Everywhere the workers are feeling the pinch of reduced work weeks, loss of overtime. And everyone understands that any improvement in conditions can be only seasonal, momentary, forced by increased military spending that expands the monumental government debt and brings more price inflation.

For their part, the Big Business rulers of America see in the economic instability a whip to beat organized labor, a golden opportunity to launch an offensive against the working people and their unions. It is no accident that the measures to outlaw the Communist Party — the ban on political liberty in the United States — are combined in a single omnibus bill with measures to open the labor unions to government proscription on the charge of harboring "subversives."

The corporations, like Studebaker, American Motors and Armour, have initiated a wage-cutting drive, brazenly confronting the unions with the ultimatum of more work for less pay or no jobs. As for the farmers, their income has already taken an overall 20% slash in just two years' time.

Thus, after 25 years of continuous pressure and sacrifice, we are still beset by fear, anxiety, insecurity. There appears no end to it. We hang suspended between economic ruin and H-bomb annihilation. It becomes more than the people can bear. Their nerves are rubbed raw. They have had enough. They want a way out — any way — so long as it promises an end to the never-ending, nerve-wracking tension imposed by the ever-present menace of capitalist depressions and wars.

How will the impending social crisis be resolved? How will the demand for a way out — for a permanent solution — be met? Will the organized labor movement come forward with a decisive answer, a program to meet the needs of the people? Or will the crisis be resolved by the brutal crushing of organized labor, the suppression of our traditional freedoms, the salvaging of profits by sinking the mass living standards — in short, by capitalist dictatorship?

It is the intention of McCarthy and his multi-millionaire backers to take demagogic advantage of the desire of the American people for an end to uncertainty, insecurity and continuously unfolding crisis. They propose to channelize mass discontent into a movement to forestall labor's solution with the harshest capitalist solution — fascism. They are not playing for fun, either; they are playing for keeps.

The task of labor and its allies can therefore be summed up in one short sentence:

Smash McCarthyism before it smashes us!

This is the central plank of the Socialist Workers Party. No other party faces this issue squarely. No other party dares to come to grips with it.

On the contrary, the Democrats and Eisenhower Republicans, to whom the liberals and labor bureaucrats look for protection from McCarthyism, have wilted before every blast from McCarthy. They voted him the public funds he demanded last February and which he has used to "investigate" them and promulgate his charge of "20" and "21 years of treason." They support his thesis of "communism — the great menace." They, who claim to oppose McCarthy, authored a whole series of police-state measures, calculated to silence all but the most reactionary political voices, to handcuff the unions, to terrorize political dissent and protest. They feed grist to McCarthy's mill.

There is no force able to combat McCarthyism effectively except organized labor. The mighty organizations of American labor have more than enough fighting manpower to drive to cover any gang of storm troopers who raise their heads. What is needed is the recognition that labor — and labor alone — can lead the struggle against McCarthyism. That is why we of the Socialist Workers Party propose:

A united Congress of Labor, with rank and file representation from all unions, to prepare a war to the finish against McCarthyism.

This Congress of Labor would have as its chief task the launching of a political party directly under labor's control and completely independent of all capitalist political parties and candidates. A new class party of labor, dedicated to implacable struggle against McMarthyism, is the indispensable political weapon to smash fascism:

For an anti-McCarthyite Labor Party.

The struggle against McCarthyism led by a genuine party of labor would pose in its sharpest form the real problem confronting America: What class shall rule, the tiny minority of monopoly capitalists or the vast majority of working people? The Labor Party would be able to answer this problem by offering the most democratic form of government:

A Workers and Farmers Government.

With a Congress of Labor and a Labor Party, the organized workers could send to Washington their own Representatives and Senators to wage a counter-offensive against the witch-hunters around the slogans:

Stop the witch hunt. Repeal all the police-state laws and decrees — the Taft-Hartley Act, Smith Act, McCarran Act, "subversive" lists, Communist Control Act, etc.

The witch-hunt, initiated by Truman, stepped-up by Eisenhower and brought to a high pitch by both major capitalist parties, is intended to silence the people, and break their resistance to war, above all. All those who oppose Wall Street's war program are to be gagged; union labor's resistance to the harsh sacrifices of capitalist war are to be crushed. This outlook can be changed if the workers and farmers

Take the war-making powers away from the tiny minority who profit from war and from their political agents in the White House and Congress. Let the people vote on all questions of war and peace through popular referendum.

At the same time, the forces of labor could project a whole series of measures designed to strengthen labor's economic status and mitigate the hardships of unemployment. Chief among these measures would be:

The 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. Unemployment compensation equal to full union-scale take-home wages for the entire period of unemployment. All idle plants to be taken over by the government and operated full-scale under the workers' control. Large-scale government projects to provide jobs at union wages on socially-beneficial projects, such as housing, schools and hospitals, to be financed by the funds now earmarked for war spending.

Of greatest immediate concern to the Congress of Labor and the Labor Party would be those large sectors of the population who suffer special forms of discrimination and exploitation — the racial minorities, the women and the youth. Measures would be advanced to deal in the most fundamental way with the problems of the Negro people, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, the women and the youth. These measures would abolish every type of racial discrimination, by establishing

Full economic, social and political equality for all minorities. A fair employment practices law with teeth in it. An end to every kind of race terrorism, with severe laws against those who threaten or commit racist violence. Rigorous enforcement of all laws and rulings against segregation and discrimination.

Women would receive the protection of

Equal pay for equal work. Free nursery care for pre-school age children of working mothers. Paid pre-natal and maternity leave for working women. Abolition of all discriminatory laws and practices which maintain sex inequality.

Youth would be given the assurance of a decent, secure future, with full opportunity for creative expression and healthful activity, with

New up-to-date schools, without crowding, properly equipped for sports, recreation and cultural activities. Free higher education for all who desire it. Vocational training in occupations enjoyed by the students. End the military draft and the dead-end future of barracks life and war. The right to vote at 18.

Once the working people have taken the political power, they would seek the permanent transformation of society from its present profits-seeking form to an economy in the interest of those who toil. The Workers and Farmers Government would

Nationalize the basic industries under the control of the workers.

Then would follow the change to a planned economic system cooperatively run without profit:

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To back the fight against McCarthyism and for socialism

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THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN
Business Manager: DOROTHY JOHNSON

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVIII - No. 35 Monday, August 30, 1954

Our Answer to Studebaker Pattern

A letter from B. D. of Chicago (page 4) raises an important question concerning our answer to the Studebaker wagecutting plan. B. D. asks: "Do you think it correct, especially in those industries that are getting squeezed out by monopoly competition, to demand that the government finance the operation of the plant under union management?"

We certainly think that the demand for government operation of idle plants under workers control is correct and entirely applicable to the Studebaker situation. (And if that's what B. D. means we are in agreement. His phrase "government finance the operation of the plant" could mean that the capitalists remain owners and the government guarantees them their profits during hard times. We are opposed to this kind of scheme because it leaves the basic problem untouched. The government then becomes the direct representative of the employer and continues the practice of wageslashing in order to put the plant in a favorable "competitive" position.)

There are some misunderstandings in B. D.'s letter on the Militant's position of the Studebaker plan. Our Aug. 16 lead article did not propose the demand for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay as the immediate answer to the Studebaker problem. We did cite with approval the initial answer of the Studebaker workers themselves. When the company argued it would have to slash wages to meet competition from Ford, General Motors and Chrysler who paid lower wages, the Studebaker workers answered: "Raise the wages of the Big Three."

We agree that was the right answer and exactly what the unions told all employers during the great organizing drives to establish unions in this country. Without that answer the workers would still be living under the open shop. But the union officials have no stomach for such an answer because it means a return to the militant policy of the Thirties — and they've grown too old, fat, complacent and corrupt for that.

In another article in the same Militant, Carl Goodman discussed the spread of the Studebaker plan, together with a roundup of information on "runaway plans" "pleading hardship" plans, etc. Under the heading of an answer to the whole "problem of layoffs, shutdowns, 'run-away' firms and migrations" Goodman wrote that "it is imperative that the union leaders call a Congress of Labor and adopt a fighting program to meet the growing economic crisis. Such a program must include a united fight to win the 30-hour work week at 40 hours pay; unionization of the South; the fight for unemployment compensation at full union wages for the duration of the period of joblessness; and a Labor Party."

We agree that a basic answer to the problem of unemployment must also include the demand that the government take over any plant that threatens to shut down for reasons of private profit interests and operate these plants under the control of elected workers' representatives.

As a matter of fact just as experience has taught millions of workers the correctness of the 30-for-40 demand, so further experience will show that the demand for government ownership under workers control is correct. When a union demands 30-for-40 the employers will give the same answer Studebaker gave, even before the union raised the demand: Our competitive position does not permit." The proper union reply would be: A 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay for all workers! And if you can't operate industry profitably on that basis, move over and we'll show you how the workers can run the plants with production for use instead of profit.

The Bankruptcy of Stalinism

All year long the leaders of the Communist Party have been calling for the election of the Democrats in 1954 and 1956 on the ground that this was the way to — stop McCarthyism. Almost every issue of the Daily Worker praised the liberal Democrats and beat the drums for labor to get out and elect them. Then came Aug. 12, when the liberal Democrats pushed through the first law in American history to ban a political party — the Communist Party. And what have the Stalinists to say now?

"We were betrayed!"

But for eleven days they could not bring themselves to utter a single word on what should be done now that their policy — the political policy also of the labor officials — has been shattered like a matchbox hit by a sledge hammer. They had many bitter names for the liberals and they denounced the silence of the labor officials. But they themselves remained silent on what the workers should do now that the strategy of supporting Democratic liberals against McCarthyites and reactionary Republicans has been exploded by the liberals themselves.

Finally on Aug. 23 the Daily Worker sneaked into an editorial its answer to the question of what to do now: "The need to build an anti-McCarthy coalition, based on various political forces united against an American version of Hitlerism, remains more urgent than ever."

An "anti-McCarthy coalition" based on "various political forces" is what the Stalinists have been trying to promote all along. And included prominently in this "coalition" are none other than the Democratic liberals.

In the same issue of the Daily Worker, just across the page, George Morris says, "The important immediate fact to see is that every one of labor's 'friends' — stalwart 'pro-labor' men like Humphrey, Lehman, Murray, Morse et al, voted for that bill."

But what are we to see in this "important immediate fact"? Back across the page in the editorial we have the answer:

"The mass of voters who follow the leadership of the liberal Democrats in the hope that they will continue the New Deal traditions are emphatically not for this kind of McCarthyite dragnet (the Communist Control Act). The anti-McCarthy sentiment of these millions, in the unions, communities, churches, etc. — needs to be brought into play against the perilous cynicism of the Humphreys who play into the hands of the worst enemies of labor and democracy."

Here is what the Stalinists mean: There is no use denying that the liberal Democrats introduced and made possible the passage of an outright McCarthyite law. But that doesn't mean the Stalinists want the workers to stop supporting the liberal Democrats. On the contrary. According to the Stalinists, the way to pit the anti-McCarthyism of the millions against the "perilous cynicism of the Humphreys who play into the hands of the worst enemies of labor" is to rally behind the Democratic Party, get out the vote for the Humphreys, and thus "defeat reaction."

It's too soon for the Stalinists to say this openly. But give them time. Before November comes they will be openly embracing the liberal Democratic boot that has kicked them so consistently.

Hunger in the Midst of Plenty

A stark picture of hungry Americans in the midst of plenty — and of federal and local politicians brutally indifferent to the needs of the unemployed — is presented in the July 15 issue of the United Mine Workers Journal.

Reporting on the distribution of federal surplus commodities to the unemployed, the Journal says, "Unlimited supplies of surplus foods in warehouses scattered throughout the land, and thousands of unemployed persons unable to properly feed their families on the meager part-time earnings and relief available to them, is the spectacle that confronts a bewildered nation in this period of drift and delay."

Reports from various districts of the miners union indicate the scope of the depression in that industry. There were 15,000 people in West Virginia eligible for free federal food last December. By June the figure had soared to 140,000. In one Kentucky county 15,000 out of a population of 20,000 have been declared eligible. In just two Pennsylvania mining counties there are now over 83,000 people in need of such aid.

To support farm prices, the government is storing away $6 billion worth of commodities, at a cost of $700,000 a day. It is estimated that only $150 million of that will be distributed to the jobless this year. Diet is not considered. Only those items creating storage problems are included.

"The actual distribution in the local communities," the Journal reports, "is burdened with governmental red tape, costly overhead expenses, and a plague of federal gum shoe agents. Only minute quantities are made available to consumers. . . In county after county, the distribution is handicapped by reluctance of local officials to accept the expenses of handling and distribution, the complicated procedure for certifying those eligible, and the tough policy of the Agricultural Department in demanding safeguards against any possible waste of the foodstuffs."

A report from Kentucky District 30 of the union, where the entire program ground to a complete halt, says, "the surplus commodities were distributed sparingly, certainly insufficient to satisfy the hunger of people who have no jobs and no unemployment insurance payments.

"These same people," the report bitterly continues, "now hungry, have helped to pay the bill for the surplus commodities in bulging warehouses surrounded by red tape and political bunk. The people are tired of waiting for the meager handout which does not begin to appease hunger."

That's the picture of one segment of America. If the present "recession" becomes a full scale depression, will the rest look any different?

Why Did They Kill?

By Art Preis

Four seemingly normal Brooklyn boys, aged from 15 to 18, last week confessed a series of revolting crimes of violence. Their victims were usually poorly-dressed jobless men—the boys called them "bums"—who were caught alone at night in the park. The youths admitted two murders. They kicked and stomped one middle-aged man to death. They beat, burned and drowned in the river a 35-year-old Negro worker. Other victims they used as punching bags. They wrapped the leg of one elderly man with gasoline-soaked rags and set them afire. They said they also seized and horse-whipped two girls.

No criminal case in years has so stirred New Yorkers and aroused so much speculation in the papers. It recalled several similarly atrocious crimes by young people recently. It climaxes a wave of teen-age violence that has been growing, not only in New York City, but all over the country.

Why did they do it? Why are so many youngsters turning to crimes of violence, thrill-murders and torture?

Most of the newspapers speak of the case as "baffling." The World-Telegram finds the "most perplexing aspect of this latest disclosure of atrocities by teenagers" in the fact that they were committed by "apparently good boys who come from good homes and have decent parents." The Post observes: "We need to know more about the darker regions of the human personality; we need more study, more thought, more reflection." The Times speaks editorially of a "crime past understanding," "unbelievable." It asks: "Where does our city, our society, fail with boys like these?" It confesses it has no answer; but still it does know that "this new development confirms and strengthens . . . the case for better policing of the city."

WHERE TO FIND ANSWER

This air of perplexity and bafflement has a considerable element of hypocrisy. For there is an obvious, indeed a glaring, answer to the questions raised by these horrible juvenile crimes. But the capitalist press cannot even hint at this answer without indicting itself along with the whole private-profit economic and social system in which we live.

This answer is suggested in the statement of Dr. Renatus Hartogs, former senior psychiatrist for the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene. Other learned and well-known psychiatrists find merely elements of family conflict, hostility to parents, sex deviation, etc., involved in the conduct of the four youthful murderers. But Dr. Hartogs intimated a broader environmental factor: "The political situation, with the continual threat of war and international violence, creates tension and stimulates violence."

This points in the right direction. But it only begins to answer the question. The truth is that not only is the whole atmosphere of capitalist society today saturated with violence, but violence is extolled and glorified as the highest of virtues. It is proclaimed by government officials and politicians. It is rewarded with medals and honors. It is taught as a meritorious way of life in the schools and colleges. It is condoned and blessed by minister, priest and rabbi alike.

For the past 15 years—the entire life-span of the youngest of the four arrested Brooklyn boys—the youth of America have been commanded to learn and practice the fine and gentle art of killing. The youth who can acquit himself most ably in the cold-blooded extermination of fellow human-beings is ordained a hero. Through press, pulpit, movies, schools, books, radio and TV, through governmental proclamation, political speeches and public ceremonials, the youth have been told that it is not only their right, but their positive duty to kill in the most wholesale and brutal manner.

During World War II, every motion picture theatre in the land showed newsreels in which, to the accompaniment of gloating commentaries, Japanese soldiers were shown being burned alive by U.S. flame throwers. Boastful descriptions of tremendous bombings and burnings of cities were daily newspaper fare. The feats of commandos and paratroopers, trained in close-quarter fighting of the blow-on-the-neck, knee-to-the-groin and thumb-in-the-eye variety, were detailed in glowing terms.

And this was as nothing compared to the glorification of murder and torture put forth by the government and detailed daily by the press and radio during the invasion of Korea by American imperialism.

Every day we were treated to stories of mass murder of civilians—**including women and children, the aged and sick—by that most terrible of weapons, the napalm bomb of jellied gasoline that spreads a searing mass of flame for hundreds of feet in all directions when it bursts. We were told openly how human beings by the hundreds of thousands and millions were "fried" alive, of "strategic" bombings that had as their sole objective the terrorization of the civilian populace of Korea.**

Daily, the U.S. generals in Korea issued propaganda communiques bragging of their "Operation Killer" and "Operation Meat-Grinder," boasting how they "mowed down" like so much grass under a scyth the "hordes of the enemy."

MURDER UNLIMITED

But American capitalism has set before the world the perspective of murder unlimited, with the development of the A-bomb and the H-bomb. Nine years ago this month Truman ordered the first of two A-bombs dropped on the crowded cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In just two lightning flashes, a half million people were killed and wounded. And the men who committed, on orders, these greatest single atrocities in history were adjudged heroes, normal in every respect except for their special qualifications and aptitude in carrying out the delivery of the A-bombs without upsetting qualms.

We live, indeed, in the Age of Supreme Violence. It is the age of the H-bomb. Men in the past talked of acts of nature, like earthquake, flood and drought, as possible threats to a large part, if not the entirety of the human race. They worried over the vengeance of God and Judgment Day. But never before has the prospect of world murder seemed so real and imminent; it is a matter of common concern today that man himself may soon exterminate the human species with weapons of his own making.

The official violence of capitalistic war finds its parallel within the internal life of the country. Never before has this country seen such lawlessness carried out by the forces of "law and order." In New York City, thousands of killer-cops, sadists in uniform, prowl the streets and commit crimes of murder and torture. Dozens of innocent people, mainly Negroes and Puerto Ricans, have been shot down in cold blood by the police over the past few years. The New York papers have been full of stories about the widespread police practice of torturing helpless prisoners to extract false confessions.

Along with the increasing police violence go the extra-legal forms of violence implicit in the witch-hunting campaign against the "reds" and "communists," which finds its culmination in the movement of McCarthyism, the American form of fascism. In the visage of McCarthy, in his words and acts are bared the threat of the fully unleashed violence of capitalism in its most savage form of rule, with the storm troopers, and the concentration camp and torture chamber as its leading institutions.

DEAD-END FUTURE

The youth of America are bred to violence. It is all around them; they have heard it encouraged by the very "best" people for most of their conscious lives; they have seen it applied in the most horrible forms on the greatest scale by official society.

But what impels them to break out into violence on their own is, peculiarly enough, their revulsion at the prospect that they can have no future but one of violence under capitalism. Ahead of the youth of America lies only militarism—the brutality of barracks life and war. The teen-ager sees little or no chance for a normal life of love and marriage, of work and raising a family. He has no hope, no dreams. He is at a dead end.

It is this frustration, this sense of futility, this lack of any decent future that he can see, combined with the whole atmosphere of legally-sanctioned, glorified violence, that is exploding in these increasingly numerous "baffling" crimes of murder and torture by youngsters. More cops, with more clubs, with more jails will not stop them. Only a program that will show them a way out of the blind alley of this violent capitalist society can restore their stability. Only the program of socialism, promising a future of peaceful activity and creative accomplishment, can give them hope and thus bring light to "the darker regions of the human personality."

Visiting China

Clement Attlee (left), right wing leader of the British Labor Party, is shown with Aneurin Bevan, another member of the delegation making a tour of China. Just before leaving England, Attlee joined with other right wing Laborites in imposing a ban on the left wing paper, Socialist Outlook, discussed below.

Bevanite Editor Protests Ban on Socialist Outlook

By Michael Foot

Last week we printed a dispatch from London reporting the attempt of the right wing leadership of the British Labor Party to suppress the left wing newspaper, Socialist Outlook. This attempt to McCarthyize the Labor Party has aroused wide and angry opposition in the British labor movement. One of the strongest protests was written by Michael Foot, member of the editorial board of the Bevanite weekly, Tribune, as the leading article in the Aug. 13 issue of that paper. We reprint the full text of this article, appearing under the title, "I CALL THIS AN OUTRAGE." Foot and Kingsley Martin of the New Statesman and Nation were among the speakers at a Socialist Outlook protest meeting to be held in London on Aug. 26. — Ed.

For the first time in history, so far as I am aware, the leaders of the Labor Party have taken steps to suppress a newspaper.

That is the only meaning which can be attached to the latest decree circulated by Mr. Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Labor Party.

"I am directed to inform you," he says in a letter sent to trade unions, constituency and local parties, women's sections and Leagues of Youth, "that the National Executive Committee at its last meeting decided that persons associated with, or supporting, Socialist Outlook, are declared to be ineligible for membership of the Labor Party."

Such a decree might fittingly be issued within a Fascist or Communist Party. That it should be issued by the leaders of a democratic party is an outrage.

The good name of the Labor Party requires that this stupid, cowardly and totalitarian edict should be rescinded at the coming Labor Party Conference and that the National Executive should be instructed not to tamper further with the elementary principles of freedom.

FIRST "CRIME"

What are the crimes committed by those who run Socialist Outlook? They are accused, first, of having published "propaganda hostile to the declared policy of the party, and conferences and meetings have been organized in support of its editorial policy."

Precisely that same charge could be made against almost every Socialist newspaper that has ever existed. Robert Blatchford's Clarion often criticized the official leadership; he also organized meetings to press his views. George Lansbury did the same on the original Daily Herald.

Sidney Webb, H. N. Brailsford, and countless others were guilty of "publishing propaganda hostile to the declared policy of the Party." Of course. How else could they exercise their democratic right of getting the official policy changed?

In short, the first charge against Socialist Outlook could be accepted as a good reason for proscription only by those who have abandoned any pretense to believe in free controversy. The formula could be used to destroy all democratic debate within the party.

Is that the idea? Several months ago a similar, although much less drastic, resolution was adopted by the National Executive in an effort to injure the success of Tribune Brain Trusts and thereby put Tribune out of business.

We had thought and hoped, however, that members of the National Executive who supported that motion had decided to drop it once they had realized how ridiculous they had made themselves appear.

SECOND "CRIME"

Now consider the second crime committed by Socialist Outlook. "A number of its contributors," we are told, "are known for their previous association with the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Party. The Revolutionary Communist Party dissolved in 1949 and advised its members to join the Labor Party and to fight for their policy within its ranks."

It makes a nice change, of course, for Mr. Morgan Phillips and those who instruct him to be discovering somebody other than Soviet Communists under their beds. Indeed, this sentence might win loud applause at a Soviet purge trial.

On the other hand, the proscription of a newspaper because of the past association of some of its contributors smacks of McCarthyism.

What in heaven's name is the National Executive trying to achieve by this rigamarole? Are they attempting to appease the NKVD and the Un-American Activities Committee by the same single act?

Nothing in fact in the National Executive's statement even attempts to justify this unprecedented attack on a newspaper. There is a case for proscribing certain organizations, although many people believe the National Executive have carried it to fantastic lengths; such action may be justified as an unavoidable measure for dealing with Communist methods of infiltration. But it is a long and dangerous step from this to the action which the National Executive has now approved to try to kill a newspaper.

How novel and how sinister this new step is can be proved by one fact. No similar action has been taken against either, shall we say, the Daily Worker or the Daily Mail. No one has yet dared to proscribe persons associated with or supporting either of these journals.

So we are to conclude that the National Executive regards these alleged ex-members of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Party as more deadly than either the official Communist Party or the capitalist press?

And what is the meaning of the phrase "associated with or supporting"? Are the compositors who print Socialist Outlook, all good trade unionists, to be taken by the scruff of the neck and put out of the Party?

Is anyone who owns a share in the paper to be compelled to sell up or clear out?

Are all contributors to its columns liable to be expelled?

Is the new rule to be that members of the Labor Party may write with impunity and for large fees for any of the dozens of newspapers which attack the Labor Party every day, but that they will risk their membership cards if they ever dare to write for a paper some of the contributors to which have past associations with the Arch-Fiend Trotsky?

Finally, what about the real criminals, the people who "support" the paper—its readers? Is it to be a criminal offense to be caught reading Socialist Outlook?

Has the National Executive recruited a body of snoopers to ensure that no one who pays his threepence slips through the mesh?

And why stop at the Socialist Outlook? Why not draw up an index of proscribed reading and prepare bonfires for those who dare to defy the new tinpot Torquemadas?

Well, I for one read Socialist Outlook and I propose to go on doing so. Neither Mr. Herbert Morrison nor Mr. Morgan Phillips nor anyone else is going to stop me. It so happens I don't agree with its views. But unlike the National Executive I don't fear its arguments. Bad arguments can be answered by better arguments. How long must it be before Morrison and Company understand that first principle of freedom?

POSTSCRIPT: Many months ago it was announced that Mr. Morgan Phillips and the National Executive were going to start a weekly Socialist paper of their own. Why don't they get on with it? Are they too busy suppressing other people's ideas to find any worth expressing of their own? Or is it the printed word itself which is now regarded at Transport House as the root of all evil?

Wages, Differentials Main Issues In Two Nationwide Rubber Strikes

AKRON, Aug. 24 — The nationwide Goodyear strike in Akron and nine other cities is in its 48th day, with no settlement in sight. The same applies to the nation-wide Firestone strike which started 12 days ago. These strikes have idled a total of 48,000 workers — 22,000 in Akron alone.

The United Rubber Workers, CIO, has been asking for a 7½c. raise plus 5¼c. for correction of wage differentials from Goodyear. At Firestone the whole contract is open for negotiations. Goodrich, General, Seiberling, and U.S. Rubber are all on a day-to-day basis awaiting outcome of the Goodyear and Firestone strikes.

In an open attempt to break the union, Goodyear took the lead in refusing to bargain with the union. They arrogantly offered a 5c. increase on a take it or leave it basis. If the union had submitted it would have undermined future bargaining and the union. The question of wage differentials at Goodyear is very important and particularly so to the workers of Akron.

Since the end of the war, Goodyear has been decentralizing away from Akron to other areas where wages are lower. For instance in Topeka, Kansas a rubber worker for Goodyear makes 35c. an hour less than a worker in Akron. In Alabama the rubber worker's hourly rate is 24c. less than in California.

This discrimination is practiced by a company which declared $49,000,000 in profits after taxes last year. They kept an additional $6,000,000 because the Eisenhower administration relaxed taxes on corporations. So far this year Goodyear is well on the way to making more profits than last year.

Solidarity is strong among the workers even though the strikes have imposed severe hardships on them, especially at Goodyear. The unions through their emergency strike funds have been helping many of the hard-hit cases, but hundreds of strikers are trying to get along on inadequate relief allowances. Both the workers and their leadership have been on the receiving end of a tremendous pressure campaign from all the reactionary business heads in Akron to end the strike ar accept the measly 5c. offer.

But their present intention is to stick it out and show they won't stand for any weakening of the union.

San Francisco
James Kutcher
Speaks on
My Case — the Case of the Legless Veteran
Sat., Sept. 11, 8 P. M.
California Hall
Corner Turk and Polk Sts.
Auspices
Kutcher Civil Rights Committee
Donation 50 cents

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII — MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1954 — NUMBER 35

The Negro Struggle

By Fred Hart

The Clarks Were Stoned Out

The newspaper reports about Philadelphia didn't give many details. But the incident was familiar without them. It was the Cicero, Ill., story all over again. It was the same kind of thing that is still going on at the Trumbull Park housing project in Chicago:

In July Wiley and Blanche Clark, both 26, bought a house for $6,500 in an all-white section of North Philadelphia and had it repaired. On Aug. 18 they moved in with their four children. A mob collected that night and broke several windows. The next night the mob was back again, 200 strong, and smashed all the windows in the two-story house before they were dispersed by police. The third night the mob was still bigger, smashing the doors this time. The only one arrested was a 16-year old who threw a beer bottle (the cops knew a 16-year old would be released with a reprimand). Members of the city's Commission on Race Relations "tried to reason with the crowd, but had little success." The demonstration lasted all night, until the Clarks left their home under police protection to go to a relative's.

The Negro family striving to build a better life for its children, the house, the mob, the "men of good will" who are disregarded, the cops who rarely or never arrest anybody plainly violating the laws respecting civil rights and civil liberties — we're familiar with all of them, all too familiar. Yet each time this story is re-enacted in a new place, we can't help thinking:

Philadelphia has a numerous and powerful Negro population. Where were they on the nights of Aug. 19 and 20? What were they doing? Whom were they waiting for? The rocks thrown those nights and the previous night were not meant only for Mr. and Mrs. Clark. They were meant for every Negro in the city. The cries, "Get out!" were not addressed merely to the six Negroes in the house. They also meant, "Keep out!" to the other 400,000 Negroes in Philadelphia. The rocks that smashed those windows also splintered the rights and aspirations of all Negroes.

So we can't help wondering: What were the 400,000 Philadelphia Negroes and their hundreds of organizations waiting for? Why didn't they come to the help of the Clarks? Why, after they saw the failure of the cops to protect the Clarks, didn't they form a defense guard and send it to help them? If they had done this and shown they mean business about defending their rights, the mob, instead of getting bolder and bigger, would have grown smaller and the Clarks would be able to live in their own home today.

And what about the large labor movement of Philadelphia? Their interests were at stake too. The forces who inspired the smashing of the Clark doors also intend to break down the doors to the union halls some day. Let them score successes and they spread their virulent influence. Why didn't the unions too have a defense guard present — to reason with whatever union men or women or their children there were in the mob, and to impress the others by the size of the guard with the fact that labor knows the meaning of solidarity and is serious about practicing it?

When the labor and Negro movements act as they should, these all-too-familiar incidents will have a different ending. In fact, they won't even take place.

How to Close Plants

By Reba Aubrey

If the place where you're working were to shut down, say next week, you might think it is a simple thing — no problem at all for the boss although a mighty big problem for you. But if we're to believe the July 31 Business Week, closing down a plant requires considerable finesse.

First of all, "No manager likes to call his people together and tell them the company is closing the plant." But there have been "a raft of closings" this spring and summer — and there'll be a lot more — so management might as well learn to close a plant gracefully and thereby avoid many an unpleasantness from "disgruntled and sentimental workers."

"Whatever the reason" given the workers for closing the plant — high costs due to obsolescence . . . dwindling demand . . . allegedly difficult union local . . . high taxes . . . moving South . . . or whatever — "the end result is the same: men and women out of work." Workers being what they are and wanting to eat regularly, "somebody had better be ready with a plausible explanation" when they are thrown out of the plant. Or else, Business Week says, "a lot of tough questions will come flying in management's direction." Even worse, "rumors" may "fly," particularly "in a small city."

The grocer may ask the housewife how she's going to manage when the plant closes down; the worker may mention to the bartender that he won't be in for beer for a while; the driver will explain to his car pool that this is the last ride. One thing leads to another and before you know it, "a grouser" may say: "Severance pay? From these people? Are you kidding?" And then you may have a mess on your hands.

Some recent closings have demonstrated that "a badly handled master plan" for shutting down the plant can create so much confusion that "the plant manager will be wishing he had never been born." The "Chamber of Commerce is on the phone; so is the radio station. Nine veteran employees are pacing the outer office. Production has all but ceased. The division manager is on the phone from Chicago;" creditors are hanging around. And, "furthermore," the workers "in the plant have no written explanation of what's happening."

But Business Week figures that as long as there's life there's hope. Management, they say, is catching on quick. The prevailing situation is giving them plenty of experience in the "delicate job" of "plant closing."

When Motor Products closed its Marion (Ohio) plant last month and tossed its workers out on the street, management cushioned the blow by offering "to write letters of reference." There was just one "unavoidable" slip. In its hurry to "close," Motor Products forgot the second shift of workers who "had to get the news over the radio or by word of mouth."

When Pressed Steel Car Co. closed its freight car plant at Mount Vernon, Ill., in May, management was careful to make sure that each worker "first got the word in letters sent to their homes." There's nothing more comforting than being at home when the shock hits.

When Phoenix Hosiery Co. stopped knitting women's hosiery at its Milwaukee plant in June, "management men, including the president, went out on the floor to make the announcement." How's that for strategy?

But the company that deserves the grand prize for the tidiest "closing" is E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. "The plant manager went to Wilmington to get the word." He "broke the news to just one of his staff; no one else until the day of the official announcement, July 6." The "timing," which "helps," called for a one-day closing operation.

The opening gun was fired at 8 A.M. when top management was informed of the "plan." Then a "two-page explanation of the whens and whys of the closing, and four-page rundown of what the pay situation would be for each class of employee. At 10:30, three simultaneous announcements were made. Management called in the local union committee (it's an independent). Staff members told supervisors." Supervisors told employees. At 11 the newspapers were told. At 12 noon local industries were told. "Later in the day, personal letters, over the manager's signature, were mailed to every Yerkes rayon worker." Finish.

With that, Business Week cites E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. for handling its closing with the intricate timing of an air-land-sea combat operation."

Notes from the News

IS McCARTHYISM THE SAME AS CIVILIZATION? McCarran, Senator from Nevada, introduced into the Congressional Record of Aug. 11 the full text of a lecture by Dr. Francis X. Gannon, assistant professor of history and politics at the University of Scranton, entitled: "McCarthyism: A Defense of American Civilization." The professor ended his lecture with this sentence: "I curse the day when McCarthyism is no more."

* * *

INCREASING UNEMPLOYMENT in Pittsburgh has made this the No. 2 distress center among the nation's 13 major labor markets. The Aug. 14 N. Y. Times states that "just this last week" all four of the Pittsburgh area's Congressmen appealed to the Department of Agriculture for government surplus food. They said that "150,000 persons needed the food."

* * *

THE COST OF LIVING EDGED UP AGAIN in July. The increase of one-tenth of 1% is the third straight monthly rise. Acting Commissioner Aryness Joy Wickens of the Bureau of Labor Statistics said the main factor in the increase was the summer drought that hiked food prices seven-tenths of 1%. She said this increase was largely offset by declines in new car prices and summer clothing.

* * *

"IT'S NOBODY'S BUSINESS BUT MINE," said "elder statesman" and financier Bernard M. Baruch concerning the nature of a 45-minute meeting in his apartment with fascist Senator McCarthy. Baruch still isn't talking, at least not publicly, about that March 9 meeting, but the Aug. 17 N. Y. Times reports that he "gave qualified approval yesterday to the work" of McCarthy who has "done a lot to alert the American people to the dangers of communism."

* * *

TIME STUDIES AND SPEEDUP SYSTEMS are attributed to God by General Electrical Executives. G. E. Vice-President N. M. DuChemin told a closed-doors meeting of the company's time study experts, according to Les Finnegan in the Aug. 16 IUE-CIO News, that "In the first book of the Old Testament of the Bible, Genesis, Chapter 1, it reads: 'And God saw everything that He had made and, behold, it was good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.' And then in a later book, Exodus, Chapter XX, it reads: 'For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them.'" These are "two of the earliest recorded time studies" and there's a "lesson" to be learned from them, DuChemin says. "They are unsatisfactory in their completeness of description."

* * *

"WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE MAN we once knew as a liberal?" asks Karl Keyerleber in the Aug. 9 Cleveland Plain Dealer. "Today," he adds, "you can't be sure whether you praise or insult someone if you call him liberal."

Our Readers Take the Floor

How to Keep the Plants Operating

Editor:

I read very carefully your articles on the "Studebaker situation" inasmuch as it is a hot topic with the workers in my shop. I felt that the demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay was inadequate to meet this particular situation. In the coming months my union may very well be faced with a "Studebaker" ultimatum. I think it would seem unreal to answer the company only with 30-for-40. Do you think it is correct, especially in those industries that are getting squeezed out by monopoly competition to demand that the government finance the operation of the plant under union management?

After "Studebaker" what more proof do we need that the bosses are incapable of managing industry and that the labor movement, in self-defense, must step in? Haven't Kaiser and Hoffman already admitted this?

I don't mean to criticize the 30-for-40 demand but merely to suggest that in certain cases we must go even further.

B. D.
Chicago, Ill.

The Militant's views on the questions raised by B. D. are presented in the editorial column on Page 3. Readers are invited to send us their opinions on this subject. — Ed.

Urges Action to End School Bias

Editor:

The Supreme Court decision on segregation in the public schools has certainly brought into sharper relief the entire question of racial discrimination in all fields, including those of jobs and housing.

However, what appears to be lacking at this time is an adequate program to take advantage of the favorable decision itself.

The NAACP, which led the court fight, seems to take the position that a considerable length of time should be allowed to the courts to enforce the decision. This, of course, merely permits the opponents of the decision to perfect their plans for evading the court's orders, when and if they are issued.

What the NAACP should do now is to call a National Conference in Washington of all organizations interested in ending Jim Crow in the public school systems in America. This would include itself, the labor unions, church and fraternal organizations and other minority peoples such as the Jewish, Puerto-Rican and Mexican-American. These organizations should send delegates to the National Conference to discuss and elaborate a program for ending discrimination in the schools forthwith. Whatever program is adopted by the Conference would then be embodied in the form of a brief to be submitted to the court at its fall session where various points of view are scheduled to be heard on how the decision should be implemented.

Such a Conference, representing the majority of the people of the United States, should demand of the court that it issue an order prohibiting discrimination in the public schools in any form — and at once. Those who persist in maintaining Jim Crow schools are in violation of the Constitution and should be prosecuted immediately. The court should order the federal government to use its tremendous powers to enforce its decision. The chief officer of the government, the president, is sworn to defend the Constitution against all its enemies. It is clearly his duty to carry out the decision of the court.

Only a mass movement of such scope can put the necessary amount of pressure on the court and the government. If this is not done, the people who are now charged with responsibility for discrimination in the school systems will manage to maintain the old abominations, in one way or another.

Milton Alvin
Los Angeles, Calif.

Lives in World As It Is Today

Editor:

I too, along with Louise Manning, was a bit disturbed by the Jack Bustelo article on cosmetics. I happen to be a working woman with a family to look after. Thus I very much appreciated the article on the 72-hour work week of working mothers a few issues back.

Maybe the long hours in a factory with the job of housekeeping and child care after work has something to do with the fact that I don't have rosy cheeks but a good splattering of wrinkles and pimples instead. Maybe it has something to do with the fact that my eyes don't sparkle and that my legs are tired and that my feet hurt. Maybe you, Jack, want to laugh and ridicule my using popular cosmetics to overcome some of these difficulties of working for a living. Laugh if you want, but I doubt if even you would laugh if I told you I don't have the money to go to a doctor about my pimples nor do I have the time off work to rest up and get some sunshine into my cheeks at some lakeside resort.

Or maybe you really believe what you wrote in answer to Louise Manning that "ordinary women, whether housewives or workers . . . no matter how toil-worn or seasoned in experience" are beautiful. If you do, then I see why you ridicule our efforts to appear a little less bruised and tired than we really are. But for me, I live in the world as it is today, with its standards of beauty and its social customs. It means a good deal to me that my husband, my children, my shopmates and my friends enjoy my company and that I can contribute something to the beauty and joy of our association today according to today's standards and not the standards of the future society.

In this world of mine, the woman factory workers' world, it is fairly common knowledge that "beauty is predominantly monopolized by the wealthy." I for one, and I think I could speak for all the girls in the shop I work in, would like very much to have some of the beautiful clothes that you see hanging on a "bourgeois clothes-horse." We would also like to have taken the vacation trip the boss' wife just got back from. Say, did she have a beautiful tan and a sparkle in her eyes when she got back!

Maybe you think we girls are mistakenly desirous of indulging in some "ridiculous and even vicious" capitalist norms? Think again, Jack, Louise Manning is absolutely correct when she views our desires and struggles as "part of the rebellion against a position which denies to them their rights as human beings. Your article on cosmetics was not too bad taken as a whole, but brother, you sure put your foot in it when you attempted an answer to Louise Manning's criticism.

F. J.
"Seasoned and experienced" Garment Worker
San Francisco, Calif.

Cosmetics and Economic Pressure

Editor:

In an article on the cosmetic industry a few weeks ago, you poked fun, expertly, at the ridiculous advertisements of the companies, and facetiously advocated a return to pure soap, water and berry-juice for women. Personally, I would be greatly relieved if I could forego the trouble and expense of make-up, but capitalism won't let me. I'm no sucker for beauty-aid ads, but economic pressure — I have to earn my living — forces me to buy and use the darned stuff.

Cosmetics are a prize example of the special discrimination that women workers are subjected to. Far from being a luxury (and they are taxed as such), cosmetics are a grim necessity for the older or not physically blessed woman worker. She must constantly compete, in the labor market and on the job, against younger or more attractive girls. The male boss who selects experienced and efficient workers rather than those who radiate a Hollywood-like glamor, is rare indeed.

A qualified male worker applying for a job is acceptable, socially, as long as he is normally clean and neat. And soiled jeans and a day-old growth of beard are considered 'normal' — for a man. But the woman applicant must be not only qualified technically, she must be well dressed, groomed to the teeth, every hair in place and exuding charm. If the seams in her hose are twisted, that's evidence of carelessness of details. If she wears no make-up, she's obviously peculiar or neurotic or both; if she wears too much, she's a hussy; and if she looks worried (which she usually is — over her appearance!), she's completely unacceptable because "tense women make the boss nervous."

When she comes home after a hard day at work, she usually puts in 8 more hours cooking, cleaning, tending to the children, etc. But there's still no rest for her — along about midnight, she's exhaustedly putting up her hair, tweezing her brows, and fussing with creams that just might dissolve wrinkles, so that the boss won't know she lied about her age to get the job. And then comes the inevitable, horrible moment when she has to decide what in the hell to wear the next day, or — how to make three outfits appear like six.

Almost every employment agency has different application blanks for men and women; on the latter, there is a special section with blanks after a list of words like "Appearance," "Complexion," "Personality," "Speech" and "Grooming." But despite all the preparation necessary to get and hold a job compared to the time, energy and thought a man has to devote to this question, th woman still continues to receive less pay for equal work on too many jobs.

But here's the payoff on the importance placed on cosmetics today. If a wife strays from the paths of marital fidelity, the irate husband is firmly advised — by Inez Robb of the Hearst Press — to give the female sinner a firm paddling. He can even shoot her and get sympathy from a jury. But if a husband strays from a worn-out housewife with boisterous children, a broken-down washing machine, mountains of clothes to be mended, and a discouraged sag in her shoulders, the columnists all holler that it's all her own fault for not having changed her hair-style and applied lipstick every morning!

So I'm afraid I'll have to stick to Max Factor's Pancake instead of rice-powder — until such time as present-day standards of sex beauty as a requisite for getting a job are thrown onto the rubbish heap along with the rest of the artificial standards of the capitalist system.

Helen Baker
Seattle, Wash.

The Ruling Class' Standards of Beauty

Editor:

In my humble opinion the letter by Louise Manning headed "Cosmetics and the Women" misses the pertinent points in relation to women, beauty, cosmetics and socialism.

I use cosmetics, but I know that in doing so I am simply making a concession to the standards of capitalist society. Under this society women (and men) are to some extent ridiculous: they are ridiculous from the standards which will exist under socialism, and are already held to a limited extent by those of us who struggle for it. To the supporters of capitalism, or of its standards of beauty cosmetics do increase feminine beauty; but in previous societies women have stretched their ears and lips, pierced their noses and restricted their feet, and to the supporters of those societies that was beautiful. It does not seem beautiful to us now because we do not have the beauty standards of those barbaric societies.

When Louise Manning writes "The wealthy are beautiful because the workers are wretched" she reveals that her standard of beauty is derived from capitalist society. **The wealthy are beautiful only by their own standards** which in the long run assign woman the role of mother and plaything. For this, youth is considered paramount. Bourgeois women accordingly seek to give the appearance of youth with the aid of cosmetics, inflatable bras, face lifting, etc. Capitalist standards of feminine beauty are established primarily by men who, corrupted by an exploiting society, cannot see women as anything more than mothers and playthings. That a woman might be a fully developed human being, capable of much that cannot be achieved in bed, never occurs to the undisguised ideologists of capitalism.

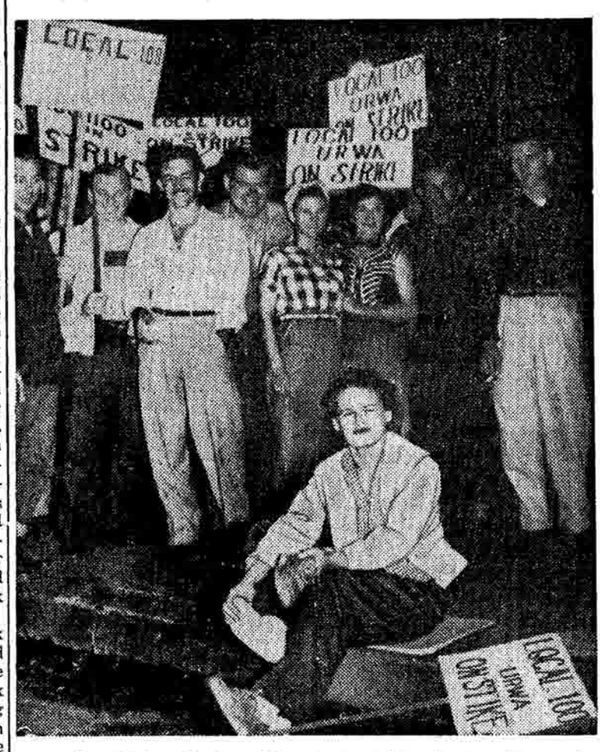
The Marxist standard of beauty, like Marxist morality, is taken from the needs of the struggle to bring socialism into the world. That struggle requires intelligence, courage, intellectual honesty, compassion, and a firm will, among other things. Without benefit of cosmetics a face can indicate one or more of these qualities even through a network of wrinkles, and thus achieve beauty. A face can be ever so smooth, ever so cleverly painted to a simulation of youthful bloom, but indicate, truly or falsely, narrowness of outlook, cupidity, cowardice, or moral weakness, and thus be revoltingly ugly.

Women's present adherence to bourgeois society is indicated, in fact, by their devotion to the standards of beauty of the ruling class. In this they are ridiculous, and not "progressive" not "rebellious" as Louise Manning would have us think. But the working class women, like the working class generally, are abandoning these bourgeois standards. There will be some feminine picket lines and barricades in the future which, if not manned by Miss Universes, will nevertheless achieve real beauty in the militancy, intelligence, and social understanding developed by the combatants.

E. Patrick
Los Angeles, Calif.

The Militant welcomes letters to the editor expressing readers' views on current problems. The shorter they are, the more we can print. Letters over 400 words long are subject to condensation. — Ed.

Footsore at Tire Plant Strike



Jane Cody rubs her aching feet outside Firestone Tire and Rubber plant in Los Angeles as fellow pickets from Local 100, CIO United Rubber Workers, offer sympathy. Union called nationwide strike against company after contract talks broke down. 25,000 Firestone and 23,000 Goodyear workers are now on strike.

Buffalo Local Appeals Firing At Westinghouse

BUFFALO, Aug. 23 — The McCarthyite witch hunt has struck for the first time in the Westinghouse plant with the firing of Diantha D. Hoag, an IUE-CIO steward.

Subpoenaed before the McCarthy committee in Washington on Aug. 7, she invoked the First and Fifth Amendments when questioned about Communist Party affiliations. Previously she had been accused in the local redbaiting press of being a Communist Party member and following the line of the UE, which used to have bargaining rights at Westinghouse. McCarthy went after her when a government stoolpigeon mentioned her name.

This case has created considerable stir locally and particularly in Westinghouse. Not so much because of Diantha Hoag personally, because there are many other more prominent and militant people at Westinghouse. But because Local 1581, spearheaded by genuine militants unconnected with Diantha Hoag, went strongly on record at two separate meetings last spring to defend victims of the McCarthy inquisition if the company should take action against them.

After returning from Washington, Diantha Hoag worked unmolested at her job for two weeks. And for two weeks the company plotted and vacillated, egged on by the press, bolstered up by the General Electric precedent on "Fifth Amendment firings," but apparently deterred by fear of what Local 1581 might do.

COMPANY ACTS

Although the present local administration is a vast improvement over the last set of officers, they are still extremely weak and wishy-washy on the issue. Aware of this, the management, after consulting with top officials in Pittsburgh, finally took action. Last Friday they summoned and informed union officers of the firing.

In an unusual move that was much approved by militants in the plant, some leaders of the local called in Anthony Marino, a popular steward, to help fight this grievance. This was not only a tribute to Marino's reputation as a fighter, but also a sign that at least part of the leadership wanted to take a firm stand on the case.

In the hearing James Newman, industrial relations manager, read a long statement couched in legalistic terms and bristling with redbaiting. Along with the Fifth Amendment issue, the company added other charges such as "falsification of an application blank," evidently fearing that the union would resist a simple "Fifth Amendment firing." Newman sidestepped all questions and arguments by the union committee.

CASE APPEALED

Most of the committee members, intimidated by the company's redbaiting, sat silent, afraid to put up a fight lest they too be implicated in "guilt by association." A few spoke up and fought back, but their effort was not enough to stop the company. Nevertheless, the committee was determined to resist and appealed the case to the top level of the grievance procedure.

This discharge is undoubtedly a heavy blow against the Westinghouse workers. But the fact that the union committee opposed it and refused to go along with the company ultimatum, as in GE and other plants, shows a stiffening resistance among the workers and even in the union's leadership. A surprise to many in the area, this resistance will give progressive elements in the plant an opportunity to organize their forces for the next witch hunt battles.

That these are coming is shown by newspaper reports that more witnesses from the plant may soon be called before the McCarthy committee. Meanwhile progressive elements in the plant are hard at work to make the union's resolution to defend McCarthy's victims an obstacle management will not be able to surmount.

Copper Workers Of Chile and U.S. Join in Strike

Copper miners in Chile and the United States have joined hands across thousands of miles in a demonstration of international labor solidarity against their common exploiter, the big U.S. copper corporations.

Some 5,000 members of the independent International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers on Aug. 16 threw picket lines around 11 workings of the Kennecott Copper Corporation in Utah, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico. Kennecott controls 45% of the country's copper supply.

On Aug. 19, another 7,000 employes of Kennecott — workers in the El Teniente mines of the Braden Copper Company, Kennecott's Chilean subsidiary — joined forces with their U.S. brothers. They struck for wage increases up to 75% and "fringe" benefits. The walkout suspended 40% of Chile's copper production.

ANACONDA ALSO DOWN

Another 5,000 workers at the U.S. holdings of Kennecott are respecting the picket lines of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. They belong to other unions.

On Aug. 23, the UMMSW called out its 15,000 members from the Anaconda Copper Mining Company works in Montana and Arizona and the company's subsidiary plants of the American Brass Company at Buffalo, N. Y., and Ansonia and Torrington, Conn. The AFL machinists at Anaconda have joined the walkout.